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# THINK TANK REVIEW

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Dear Readers,

Welcome to issue 21 of the Think Tank Review compiled by the EU Council Library\*. It references papers published in January 2015. As usual, we provide the link to the full text and a short abstract.

This month's Review marks **two years** since we started this project. The TTR began as a quick tour through the websites of a handful of think tanks in EU affairs, in order to provide Council staff with a product more structured than the occasional, and often over-looked, e-mail alert from the library. It gained ground by word of mouth, encouraging us to enlarge the range of think tanks we monitor, finding valuable sources outside Brussels and networking with fellow information specialists in EU institutions and elsewhere.

To celebrate the anniversary, we look back to our virtual shelves: the Special Focus this month puts side-by-side recent publications and papers on the same subjects from early 2013. The picture that emerges, from the crisis to Euromaidan, from the Arab Spring to *Brexit*, is one of persistent challenges but also incremental progress, painstakingly achieved through negotiation by the EU institutions and Member States, in what some scholars now call '[deliberative intergovernmentalism](#)'. The library team takes some pride in contributing to feed this process with diverse sources and ideas.

Further in this issue, as typical at this time of the year, various organizations set out global scenarios for 2015: notably the German Marshall Fund, CIDOB, ECFR, EUISS, FRIDE; but we also found a survey of expectations for 2025 held by French and German businesspeople. Publications also reflect a growing concern with terrorism and foreign fighters, migration, both internal and from outside the EU, and the habitual attention to energy policy - this of course in the run-up to the Commission's [energy union](#) package, just published. TTIP negotiations and document disclosures continue to attract a lot of stakeholders' attention from both sides of the debate.

As usual, we signal joint think tank events. January was marked by the Brussels Think Tank dialogue, this time under the heading 'A New Departure for the EU', with several background [papers](#). Also worth mentioning, for their EU-28 scope, an endeavour at measuring institutional and socio-economic [convergence](#), published by Institute of Economics, Zagreb, and a joint project (Open Society and others) measuring convergence through a 'Catch-up Index'. In the *Regard croisés* section, a network of perspectives spanning Germany, Estonia, the UK, France, Poland, Sweden.

The current Review and past issues can be downloaded from our [blog](#). Feedback is welcome at [central.library@consilium.europa.eu](mailto:central.library@consilium.europa.eu). The next Review will be out in March 2015, with papers published in February.

For readers from outside the General Secretariat, the Central Library is in the Justus Lipsius building, at JL 02 GH, Rue de la Loi 175, 1048 Brussels. It is open to Council officials, staff of other EU institutions and Permanent Representations of Member States. Members of the public may use the library for research purposes.

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## "AS TIME GOES BY" - TWO YEARS OF THINK TANK MONITORING

*How has the debate on current affairs evolved since TTR started two years ago? Here are some papers from January 2015 on key EU and international issues, in an ideal counterpoint with publications from early 2013.*

### THE CRISIS

#### **Bertelsmann Stiftung / Jacques Delors Institute - Berlin**

*Repair and prepare: strengthening Europe's economies after the crisis*

by Henrik Enderlein [@henrikenderlein](#) and Joachim Fritz-Vannahme (coord.)  
2014

Link to the article in [English](#) (40 p.)

Europe faces two overarching challenges. First, it needs to repair the massive economic and political damages wrought by the crisis, and second, the euro area needs to eradicate its systemic weaknesses and prepare for future shocks. The current crisis has pushed the EMU to its limits, and the next one may tear it apart. What Europe needs now is a comprehensive vision of the path from crisis to resilience that can serve as a guide for concrete action, say the authors.

*Section 1 of our February 2013 TTR referenced various papers dealing with the impact of the crisis on the political landscape of Member States (ECFR) or on welfare (Policy Network), with options for a cyclical adjustment fund (Jacques Delors Institute), or for a euro area fiscal capacity (Bruegel). The 2015 Bertelsmann/Delors paper is worth reading together with the IAI publication below, where Kunstein and Wessels saw the EU's architecture evolving towards more "power-sharing between institutions at European and national levels" but also "increasingly differentiated forms of integration".*

#### **Istituto Affari Internazionali**

*The new governance of the Economic and Monetary Union: adapted institutions and innovative instruments*

by Tobias Kunstein and Wolfgang Wessels  
2 January 2013

Link to the article in [English](#) (14 p.)

Reforms in response to the multiple crises affecting the EU and the euro area since 2008 have transformed European governance considerably. This paper provides an overview of the main effects stemming from the introduction of innovative instruments over the past few years. It concludes that the evolution of the EU's architecture towards "more Europe" rooted in power-sharing between institutions at both European and national levels is likely to be complemented by "less Europe" in the sense of increasingly differentiated forms of integration.

### UK RELATIONSHIP TO THE EU

#### **Chatham House - The Royal Institute of International Affairs**

*To be or not to be in Europe: is that the question? Britain's European question and an in/out referendum*

by Tim Oliver [@timothyloliver](#)  
January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (16 p.)



This paper argues that Britain's European question, which has increasingly become a norm of British politics nowadays, is connected to a range of issues – constitutional change, changing identities, political economy, fragmenting party politics, responses to globalisation and the changing geopolitics of Europe – not simply whether Britain wants to be formally in or out of the EU.

## **Policy Network**

*The risk of Brexit: Britain and Europe in 2015*

by Roger Liddle [@liddlro](#)

15 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (72 p.)

This is a critical time for the relationship between Britain and Europe, as politicians debate the balance of competencies between governance at EU and national levels. Charting how recent political developments have changed the debate surrounding Britain's membership of the EU, this paper poses a series of questions about how this debate will unfold over the course of the coming months and years. By seeking answers to the questions, the author assesses whether a series of miscalculated gambles by David Cameron and his forebears have left Britain teetering on the edge of Brexit.

## **Institut pro evropskou politiku EUROPEUM (EUROPEUM Institute for European Policy)**

*What can the EU do to contain the risk of the "Brexit"?*

by Jan Váška

28 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (7 p.)

With the UK elections approaching, and the British exit still a conceivable outcome, this paper discusses the most probable post-election scenarios in relation to the EU referendum pledge. It argues that a Labour victory would only mean postponement of the referendum to a later date. In its final section, the paper proposes how the EU should approach the upcoming UK electoral campaign and the actual renegotiations and referendum, should they take place.

*Compare with two publications issued soon after PM Cameron's January 2013 speech. The original abstracts show how observers immediately focused, as they still do, on the complex dynamics of negotiation with the other Member States and the far from obvious economic impact of a Brexit...*

## **Centre for European Reform**

*Cameron's optimistic, risky and ambiguous strategy*

by Charles Grant

24 January 2013

Link to the article in [English](#)

In his long-delayed speech on Britain and the EU, David Cameron pledged to campaign for a Yes vote "with all my heart and soul". The speech contained much that is sensible. But its implicit message to Britain's partners was: "Give us what we want, by the deadline that we specify, or we may well leave the EU", a very risky approach, says CER, that many other Europeans consider not far short of blackmail. "The speech made many optimistic assumptions and was riddled with ambiguities."

*Leaving the EU will not set Britain's economy free*

by Philip Whyte

25 January 2013

Link to the article in [English](#)

This CER analysis argues that leaving the EU would not be an economic liberation for the UK. It would resolve none of the domestic failings that are the main constraints on Britain's long-term growth and would do little to lighten the regulatory burden on British business. And it might well leave the UK more closed to the outside world, not less.

## EU FOREIGN POLICY AND THE EEAS

### Ulkopoliittinen instituutti (Finnish Institute of International Affairs)

*Fine-tuning EU foreign policy: a joint approach between the new Commission and the European External Action Service?*

by Niklas Helwig [@NHelwig](#)

26 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (9 p.)

This paper starts with a brief history of the fluctuating external relations structures of the Commission, before discussing in depth the changes under President Juncker. In particular, the analysis clarifies that, while some of the changes can be labelled as 'fine-tuning', the new Commission machinery on external action is bound to be more political and more closely involved in the steering of the foreign policy agenda. This shift of the policy-planning centre of gravity towards the Commission might have an impact on the finely calibrated balance of the overall EU foreign policy architecture that Member States monitor so carefully.

*Compare and contrast with...*

### Centre for European Policy Studies

*The new EU foreign policy architecture: reviewing the first two years of the EEAS*

by Niklas Helwig, Paul Ivan and Hrant Kostanyan

10 February 2013

Link to the article in [English](#) (85 p.)

The 'gravitational shift' discussed in the above paper links back to a key issue identified two years ago by the same author, when contributing to this CEPS book. The 2013 study concluded that "challenges in cooperation emerge especially on the top hierarchical level of the Commission and with Commission services that view themselves as 'non-political', such as humanitarian aid. Coordination of the High Representative with the other top EU posts – the President of the European Commission and the European Council – can certainly be improved. However, the undefined relations with the rotating Presidency turned out to work out quite well, with effective coordination of activities on various levels."

## ARAB SPRING?

### Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale

*Crisi libica: tra tentativi di mediazione e conflitto aperto (Libyan crisis: attempts of mediation and open conflict)*

by Arturo Varvelli

15 January 2015

Link to the article in [Italian](#) (8 p.)

Today Libya is divided: Islamist militias control most of Tripolitania supported by Turkey and Qatar whereas the government friendly forces of general Haftar hold Cyrenaica and receive support from Egypt and the UAE. Furthermore, jihadist forces are starting to gain ground. Italy's interests mostly lie in Tripolitania, this is why it engaged with the de facto government without recognizing it, but is aware that a long-lasting peace needs an agreement between the two factions, which is a precondition for a peacekeeping action.

On a related topic, read also the October 2014 [paper](#) by the European Council on Foreign Relations, on how Tunisia is consolidating its democracy.

*Compare with three papers from 2013, respectively from Leuven, a conference in Catalonia, and the Istituto Affari Internazionali. They sought to explain the main drivers of change in the Arab Spring, reviewed EU policy tools and options, and generally struck notes of caution on the not-so-imminent end of Arab authoritarianism. On the same subject, and still relevant as background, the [bibliography](#) put together in 2013 by the NATO Multimedia Library*

### Euro-Mediterranean Study Commission

*Talking about the revolution: narratives on the origin and future of the Arab Spring*

by Timo Behr

February 2013

Link to the article in [English](#) (36 p.)

The paper examines some of the major debates and narratives on the origins of the Arab Spring. It reviews the main structural, institutional, technological, and ideational explanations for the protests. In the final analysis, it is clear that there is no single explanatory variable responsible for the extraordinary events of the Arab Spring. And also the paper concludes that forming stable democracies in the region will unavoidably take time. One of its messages is that the Arab authoritarianism might be down, but cannot yet be counted out.

### Istituto Affari Internazionali

*Unfinished transactions: challenges and opportunities of the EU's and Turkey's responses to the "Arab Spring"*

by Emiliano Alessandri and Meliha Benli Altunışık

25 January 2013

Link to the article in [English](#) (11 p.)

Both the EU and Turkey have so far failed to establish a firm strategic rationale for their support for democratic change in the neighbourhood, often accepting the tenet that their "values" may continue to clash with - but in the new context will have to prevail over - their "interests". As the geopolitical implications of the Arab uprisings become clearer, the EU and Turkey should adopt a more lucid and nuanced approach to democracy and a more explicitly political response to the "Arab Spring" which could offer the basis for joint initiatives bearing positive implications on the future of the bilateral relationship between the EU and Turkey.

## Leuven Centre for Global Governance Studies

### *The Arab uprisings and the European Union: in search of a comprehensive strategy*

by Jan Wouters and Sanderijn Duquet

January 2013

Link to the article in [English](#) (33 p.)

Events during and following the Arab Spring of 2011, have triggered the EU to revise its relations with countries in transition. The working paper reviews the different policies and instruments at hand to respond to the Arab uprisings. It assesses the EU's structural efforts to engage countries in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), to cooperate with the United Nations (UN) and regional organisations, and to engage with non-state actors. It is also argued that the EU still lacks a long-term strategy in the MENA and the paper makes a number of policy suggestions in order to change that.

## UKRAINE

### Centre d'études et de recherches internationales

#### *Quelle configuration territoriale pour l'Ukraine ?*

by Gilles Lepesant

19 January 2015

Link to the article in [French](#) (8 p.)

In Ukraine, the presidential (25 May) and legislative elections (26 October 2014) added to the de facto secession of part of the country. Territorial reform projects in 2014 have outlined a profound change of the Ukrainian political geography.

### Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)

#### *Der "Euromaidan" - ein Jahr danach : Bilanz eines ukrainischen Epochenjahres [The "Euromaidan" a year later: balance of an epochal year for Ukraine]*

by Stephan Meuser [@goldenekuppel](#)

January 2015

Link to the article in [German](#) (10 p.)

2014 was a black year for Ukraine and Europe: old certainties like the inviolability of borders were put into question. A new peaceful order can only be stable when all States accept its norms. The conflicting parties should look for common interests. These could be a zone of free trade and movement that includes the EU, the Eurasian Economic Union and the countries of the Eastern Partnership.

*Compare with our January 2013 Special Focus on Ukraine. Among others, the ECFR commented that "the EU cannot afford to simply wait until the presidential elections in 2015" and recommended a visa ban. Chatham House investigated civil society in Ukraine and urged for support "that focuses on building up moderate forces".*

### European Council on Foreign Relations

#### *The EU and Ukraine After the 2012 Elections*

by Andrew Wilson

November 2012

Link to the article in [English](#) (10 p.)

The real danger following the elections in Ukraine on 28 October is not electoral fraud but the way that the authorities are now entrenching themselves in power by every

possible means, according to ECFR. It comments that members of the literal and metaphorical family around President Yanukovych are using their power to enrich themselves on an "unprecedented" scale. And having in mind this situation, the EU cannot afford to simply wait until the presidential elections in 2015. The report advises EU authorities to consider imposing a visa ban on leading figures in the regime and auditing suspect "family" companies in the EU.

### **Chatham House - The Royal Institute of International Affairs**

*How to Finish a Revolution: Civil Society and Democracy in Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine*

by Orysia Lutsevych

January 2013

Link to the article in [English](#) (20 p.)

Civil society in Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine remains weak as citizens have little capacity to influence political developments owing to lack of engagement, clientelist networks and corruption. Western-funded NGOs that try to influence the public are still disconnected from the public at large. Civil society in all three countries would benefit from Western support that focuses on building up moderate forces, the author says. "Prioritizing greater citizen participation in organizations, as well as social trust, tolerance, openness and self-expression can do this."

## SECTION 1 - EU POLITICS AND INSTITUTIONS

### EU INSTITUTIONS

#### College of Europe

*Le Parlement européen à la recherche de l'efficacité législative: une analyse des évolutions de son organisation*

by Nathalie Brack [@NathalieBrack](#), Olivier Costa and Clarissa Dri

January 2015

Link to the article in [French](#) (47 p.)

A Bruges Political Research Paper examining the rationalization of EP work in the search for legislative efficiency and its impact on the role of individual MEPs.

#### Zentrum für Europäische Integrationsforschung (Center for European Integration Studies)

*Europäische Integration aus historischer Erfahrung. Ein Zeitzeugengespräch mit Michael Gehler*

by Monika Wulf-Mathies

January 2015

Link to the article in [German](#) (38 p.)

A dialogue with former Commissioner Wulf-Mathies, where she looks back at the Santer Commission but also argues in favour of the revitalization of the community method and supranational institutions, as well as for a transfer union.

#### Carnegie Europe

*Emotional intelligence for EU democracy*

by Heather Grabbe [@HeatherGrabbe](#) and Stefan Lehne [@StefanLehne](#)

January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (44 p.)

The EU's dwindling democratic legitimacy is an acute political challenge. Trust in EU institutions is declining even in countries where the union once had high levels of support. Populist parties are rising and turning against the EU. To restore its legitimacy, the EU needs to respond to public apathy and anger with emotional intelligence and to offer solutions that feel relevant to people outside the Brussels bubble.

#### Foundation for European Progressive Studies

*Systemic challengers: radical right and radical left populism in Europe*

by Stefano Rizzo

30 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (15 p.)

A look from the social-democratic foundation at early populism in America and its manifestations in Europe.



## SECTION 2 - ECONOMICS

### MEMBER STATES AND EUROPEAN ECONOMIES

**European Policies Initiative / Институт Отворено общество - София (Open Society Institute - Sofia)**

*The gravity effect: findings of the European catch-up index 2014*

by Marin Lessenski [@marinlessenski](#)

8 December 2014

Link to the article in [English](#) (91 p.)

The "Catch Up Index" aims to answer the question: are the ten "new", post-communist Member States of the EU - the EU10 - catching up with the "old", "Western" EU members? The index registers the level of convergence or divergence along four categories: Economy, Quality of Life, Democracy and Governance. The index also includes the EU candidate and potential candidate countries. This index 2014 coincides as with the 10th anniversary of the enlargement and the 25th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the start of transitions. But it is also the year of the end of a political cycle of the EU and the beginning of the new one for 2014-2019.

### **Foundation for European Progressive Studies**

*Imbalances in the European Union*

by Signe Dahl and Anne Marie Krogsgaard Andersen

30 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (10 p.)

The financial crisis in 2008 was the starting point for the most severe economic crisis since the Second World War. Since 2008 the EU has been in recession twice. Now – six years after the crisis broke out – domestic demand is still subdued and the economies are growing at a slow pace at best. Put differently Europe is still affected by the crisis and recovery prospect is bleak.

### ECONOMIC GOVERNANCE

#### **Bruegel**

*Analysis of developments in EU capital flows in the global context*

by Zsolt Darvas, Pia Hüttl [@PiaHuettl](#), Silvia Merler [@SMerler](#), Carlos De Sousa and Thomas Walsh [@7thomaswal5h](#)

November 2014

Link to the article in [English](#) (255 p.)

Using bilateral data and panel econometric models, the authors examine determinants of capital flows and stocks. Euro membership boosted debt flows, while EU membership increased equity flows. Global uncertainty reduces capital flows, but higher financial integration dampens this effect. More in detail, the magnitude of capital outflows from Russia and Ukraine due to geopolitical developments have been much smaller than during the financial crisis.

## **LUISS School of European Political Economy**

*Risks of a deflation in the EMU. Why is this time so deceitful?*

by Paolo Canfori and Marcello Messori

21 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (19 p.)

The future of the euro area is connected to the implementation of policies which can re-launch economic growth. The ECB's quantitative easing is an effective tool to approach these results. However, monetary policy alone is not enough. It is also necessary to implement an expansionary fiscal policy mainly at an European level, and the required reforms at the national level. According to the authors, the lack of trust between Member States severely hinders not only the implementation of a unconstrained quantitative easing program but mainly an adequate European plan of public investments.

## **Notre Europe- Jacques Delors Institute**

*Cohesion policy facing the crisis: what effects for the EU's regions?*

by Patrick Faucheur

15 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (12 p.) and in [French](#) (12 p.)

This paper analyses the changes in the development of regions that took place after the crisis, and in particular on the role played by the Cohesion Policy and its links with EU fiscal and economic governance.

## SECTION 3 - EU MEMBER STATES

### GERMANY

#### Bertelsmann Stiftung

*Germany and Israel today: united by the past, divided by the present?*

by Steffen Hagemann and Roby Nathanson  
2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (72 p.)

The findings of this survey show how much has been achieved with regard to German-Israeli relations over the last decades. At the same time, they do also show that renewed efforts will be necessary in order to take today's achievements one step further.

#### Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung (Hanns Seidel Foundation)

*Argumentation kompakt vom 7. Januar 2015: Die "Alternative für Deutschland" (AfD) [The "Alternative for Germany" (AfD): electorate and motives for choice]*

by Gerhard Hirscher  
7 January 2015

Link to the article in [German](#) (4 p.)

Is this party just a mayfly of German party system or does it have chances for long term establishment? Its balancing act between bourgeois-liberal, euro-critic professors' party and right wing populism serving resentment could lead to a split in the party, argues the author. Its final destiny will depend on the regional elections of spring 2016.

#### Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft Köln (Cologne Institute for Economic Research)

*Globale Kräfteverschiebung - Wo steht die deutsche Industrie in der Globalisierung [Global shift of power: shift of power in the world economy- where is the German industry in the globalisation?]*

by Thorsten Lang, Karl Lichtblau, Manuel Fritsch, Agnes Millack, Edgar Schmitz and  
Roman Bertenrath

6 January 2015

Link to the article in [German](#) (191 p.)

The goal of this study commissioned by the Federal Association of German Industry is to portray the changes of the world economy at both macro and microeconomic level. The success of German industry is based to a large degree to the openness of the German economy. As one of the strongest exporters, Germany profits from a deep integration in the international added value chains, not least from the added value share of foreign imports in German exports. Furthermore the study gives an explanation based on an extensive survey, about whether foreign production strengthens or erodes the German industrial production.

*Fachkräfteengpässe in Unternehmen - Die Altersstruktur in Engpassberufen [Low supply of skilled work in enterprises - the age structure of jobs with low supply]*

by Sebastian Bußmann and Susanne Seyda  
2 January 2015

Link to the article in [German](#) (52 p.)

Almost for one every four professions is difficult to find qualified workers. The demographic change increases the share of older employees and leads to an increasing number of replacement demands. Some difficult jobs show a particularly high share of elder employees. In the meantime small and medium sized enterprises face difficulties.

## GREECE

### Institut für Weltwirtschaft Kiel (Kiel Institute for the World Economy)

*Greece: how to take a turn for the better*

by Klaus Schrader, David Benček and Claus-Friedrich Laaser

January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (21 p.)

According to the Kiel institute, a final haircut or a phasing out of the Greek debt burden is needed to make Greece's public debt sustainable. Anyway, the "cut" should be strongly conditioned to end the bailing-out process and to restore fiscal stability in Greece.

## HUNGARY

### Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)

*Hungarian politics in 2014*

by Gábor Gyri

January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (43 p.)

This paper is a comprehensive overview of recent developments, events and trends in Hungary in 2014. The first section reviews the three national elections in 2014; the second looks at the party system as it has evolved, focusing especially on the opposition parties, their state and prospects; the third section focuses on foreign relations, in particular the Orbán government's efforts to deepen the country's ties with eastern powers including Russia, and the impact of this policy on relations with its western partners; finally, the paper takes a detailed look at how Fidesz's policies have shaped the economy and society in Hungary, and discusses its relations with civil society and the media. All of the sections conclude with a brief analysis of the issues which may come to the fore in 2015.

## ITALY

### Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)

*Das Phänomen Renzi [The Renzi phenomenon]*

by Roberto Brunelli und Federica Fantozzi

January 2015

Link to the article in [German](#) (6 p.)

Matteo Renzi changed quickly the Italian political landscape. Within the Democratic Party a massive generational interchange took place. Renzi and his surroundings come from the Christian democrat tradition of the party. Conflicts with the left wing of the party are inevitable and premeditated. Renzi's leading style is strongly personalised. The political communication aims directly at the citizens. Media and social institutions are bypassed as unwanted filters.

## SPAIN

### Fundación para el análisis y los estudios sociales (Foundation for Social Studies and Analysis)

*Modelo de financiación autonómica 2009. El fracaso de una reforma política*

by Juan José Rubio Guerrero and Santiago Álvarez García

20 January 2015

Link to the article in [Spanish](#) (19 p.)

A sharp critique of the 2009 reform of regional finances in Spain.

## SWEDEN

### Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)

*Das nordische Modell - Erosion oder Erneuerung? Ein Blick in die Ergebnisse des SAMAK-Fafo NordMod2030-Projektes [The Nordic model - erosion or renewal? : a look at the outcome of the SAMAK-Fafo NordMod2030-Project]*

by Gero Maass

January 2015

Link to the article in [German](#) (9 p.)

Nordic countries can not avoid feeling the pressure from the outside world, as the functional triangle of economic governance, organized labour markets and public benefits is under permanent pressure. In particular, trust in the State institutions looks threatened.

## UNITED KINGDOM

### Institute for Government

*Parliamentary scrutiny of government*

by Hannah White

22 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (40 p.)

This briefing note – based on literature review and the experience of parliamentary practitioners – looks at what we mean by scrutiny of government and where parliamentary scrutiny fits within the wider landscape. It explores the good and bad impacts scrutiny can have, what good scrutiny looks like and suggests a framework for assessing its impact.

### Fabian Society

*Transition by consent*

by Cameron Tait [@cameronrtait](#)

21 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (26 p.)

This report finds that winning community consent is the only sustainable way to deliver affordable, green energy to the UK in the long term. Innovative developers are already clearing a new pathway for transition to a low carbon economy by including local communities as partners in project design.

## SECTION 4 - EU POLICIES

### JUSTICE AND HOME AFFAIRS

#### Centre for European Policy Studies

*New approaches, alternative avenues and means of access to asylum procedures for persons seeking international protection*

by Elspeth Guild, Cathryn Costello, Madeline Garlick, Violeta Moreno-Lax and Minos Mouzourakis  
January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (94 p.)

This study, requested by the European Parliament's Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs (LIBE), examines the workings of the Common European Asylum System, in order to assess the need and potential for new approaches to ensure access to protection for people seeking it in the EU, including joint processing and distribution of asylum seekers.

*Whose Mare? Rule of law challenges in the field of European border surveillance in the Mediterranean*

by Sergio Carrera and Leonhard den Hertog [@LdenHertog](#)  
January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (32 p.)

This paper examines developments in the field of European border surveillance in the Mediterranean and focuses on rule of law challenges stemming from these developments in a post-Lisbon EU. The developments examined are the Italian-led Mare Nostrum operation, the debates over European 'exit strategies' for this operation and the ensuing launch of the Frontex Triton joint operation. The recently adopted Regulation on Frontex sea border surveillance operations is also presented.

*National security and secret evidence in legislation and before the Courts: exploring the challenges*

by Didier Bigo, Sergio Carrera, Nicholas Hernanz and Amandine Scherrer  
January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (128 p.)

This study provides a comparative analysis of the national legal regimes and practices governing the use of intelligence information as evidence in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Spain, Italy, the Netherlands and Sweden. The study was originally commissioned by the European Parliament's Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs (LIBE) and published in December 2014.



CEPS continues the series dedicated to loss of nationality, featured in previous reviews. A *comparative analysis of regulations on involuntary loss of nationality in the European Union*, by Gerard-René de Groot and Maarten Peter Vink, can be accessed [here](#).

### **Barcelona Centre for International Affairs**

*¿Pausa o retroceso en las libertades fundamentales de los ciudadanos comunitarios? Circulación, residencia y trabajo en otros estados miembros de la Unión Europea: a propósito de la Sentencia del Tribunal de Justicia de la Unión Europea "Dano v. Jobcenter Leipzig".*

by David Moya

January 2015

Link to the article in [Spanish](#) (5 p.)

An analysis of the Dano judgement, arguing that although it apparently limits access to social benefits for EU citizens who have not worked, in fact its impact is limited.

### **German Marshall Fund of the United States / Robert Bosch Stiftung**

*Creating a triple-win through labor migration policy? Lessons from Germany*

by Steffen Angenendt, Jessica Bither and Astrid Ziebarth

30 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (24 p.)

This report describes the background of a changed migration landscape in Germany, the genesis of 'triple-win' thinking and the migration/development nexus, and the lessons learned from current policy tools: EU Mobility Partnerships and bilateral pilot projects.

### **Foundation for European Progressive Studies**

*Towards a solidarity-based European Asylum Policy. FEPS 12 proposals*

by Sonke Schmidt

9 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (18 p.)

EU needs to make the Common European Asylum Policy a reality, based on solidarity at three levels: within the Member States, on international and the local level. The Foundation for European Progressive Studies has prepared [twelve proposals](#) to serve this purpose.

### **Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)**

*Zwischen Integration und Ausbeutung : Rumänen und Bulgaren in Deutschland: Bilanz nach einem Jahr Arbeitnehmerfreizügigkeit [Between integration and exploitation: Rumanians and Bulgarians in Germany: a balance after one year of free movement of workers]*

by Matthias Jobelius

January 2015

Link to the article in [German](#) (11 p.)

In the last twelve months the number of Bulgarians and Rumanians living in Germany increased by approximately 120.000. The newcomers find a labour market where employees from South Eastern Europe are relatively well integrated, but in which they are low paid and often not employed according their qualification. On the same topic, read [here](#) the short paper published by the European Policy Centre, *Unconfirmed but still feared: the tidal wave of Bulgarians and Romanians one year later*, by Andreia Ghimis.

## **International Crisis Group**

*Syria calling: radicalisation in Central Asia*

20 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (16 p.)

Over the past few years several hundreds Central Asians left their homes to join IS in Syria. The phenomenon is giving new vigour to old jihadist movements like the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. Their social features are varied and there is no single profile of a Central Asian IS supporter. The only common element is fatigue with the post Soviet establishments. The response of local governments was to further curtail civil and religious liberties, which is worsening the situation. An effective response is needed and a cooperation with the EU would be useful.

## **Fondation Robert Schuman**

*The European Union and terrorism*

by Alain Chouet

12 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.) and in [French](#) (4 p.)

A short review of the terrorist threat by a former head of a French intelligence agency.

## **Institute for National Security Studies**

*The terror attacks in Paris: tip of the iceberg or a passing episode?*

by Yoram Schweitzer and Oded Eran

12 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.)

*Suicide attacks in 2014: the global picture*

by Yoram Schweitzer, Ariel Levin and Einav Yogev

6 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.)

Two short analysis of recent terrorist attacks in Paris and an overall picture of suicide attacks that took place in 2014.

## **Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies - European University Institute**

*Investment-based citizenship and residence programmes in the EU*

by Jelena Dzankic

January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (33 p.)

This paper maps investment-based legal provisions that may result in the direct acquisition of citizenship or residence rights through a pecuniary contribution in all the 28 EU Member States; secondly, it discusses the iterative relationship between EU citizenship and investment-based citizenship programmes, taking into account the intuitive conflict between the values inherent in EU citizenship and the opportunity structures that it creates for countries to commodify their membership by exchanging it for investment.

On the same topic read [here](#) the recent paper by the Migration Policy Institute, previously included in our review.

## COMPETITIVENESS (INTERNAL MARKET, INDUSTRY, RESEARCH AND SPACE)

### Istituto Bruno Leoni

*La liberalizzazione dei mercati retail gas nell'Unione Europea [Liberalisation of retail gas markets in the European Union]*

by Lorenzo Castellani [@LorenzoCast89](#)

21 January 2015

Link to the article in [Italian](#) (12 p.)

Despite EU directives try to uniform the retail gas market, the levels of liberalization vary to a large degree from one Member State to the other. The price of gas depends on a lot of factors, but still it is possible to find a relation between the level of liberalization of the market and the price paid by the final customer: data show that generally the more liberalized is the market, the lower are the prices.

*Accordi fiscali e aiuti di stato: una commistione pericolosa [Fiscal agreements and State aids: a dangerous mixture]*

by Massimo Trovato

21 January 2015

Link to the article in [Italian](#) (8 p.)

Critics denounce the alleged abuse of tax rulings as a tool for shifting profits to low tax countries and eroding the tax base of high-tax countries; however, they fail to recognize that they are conflating two very different issues: international taxation may deserve a thorough overhaul, but competition policy tools should not be bent to tax policy goals.

## TRANSPORT/TELECOMMUNICATIONS/ENERGY

### Friends of Europe

*Rethinking urban mobility*

19 January 2015

Link to the report in [English](#) (10 p.)

Panellists at a Friends of Europe conference "Rethinking Urban Mobility" debated a variety of ways to make cities liveable and mobile, ranging from an optimised use of infrastructure and intelligent transportation systems to a mass shift towards bikes, walking, public transport and clean cars. The questions are: what's the optimum mix and how will it be paid for?

### European Council on Foreign Relations

*Surveillance, privacy, and security: Europe's confused response to Snowden*

by Anthony Dworkin [@AnthonyDworkin](#)

20 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

This paper explores how European countries and groups reacted to public disclosures about mass surveillance since 2013. Despite the attention that Snowden's revelations received, the memo argues that Europe has failed to engage with the most important issues that they raised. As a result, European citizens are no closer to a reformed and legitimate framework to balance security protection with human rights and democratic oversight.

## **Istituto Affari Internazionali**

### *European energy security challenges and global energy trends: old wine in new bottles?*

by Marie-Claire Aoun

19 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (21 p.)

Over the past couple of decades the energy challenges that the EU had to face changed dramatically. Technologic transformations and geopolitical changes are forcing the EU to change its energy strategy and to find a balance between sustainability, security of supply and competitiveness.

## **Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale**

### *Energy security in South East Europe: the role of the Southern gas corridor*

by Emin Akhundzada [@Eminn\\_A](#)

30 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

South-Eastern Europe has a growing gas consumption, but its indigenous production is insufficient (37%), therefore is dependent on Russia. The Southern Gas Corridor will significantly improve the energy and supply security, will reduce prices and will boost their economies.

## **Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)**

### *Die Umsetzung der Energieeffizienz-Richtlinie unter Beachtung von Verbraucherinteressen [The implementation of the energy efficiency guideline paying attention to consumer interests]*

by Johanna Kardel [@JohannaKardel](#)

January 2015

Link to the article in [German](#) (4 p.)

For a successful energy efficiency four elements need to be respected: transparency and quality assurance; individual and independent advices; to avoid stress on direct allocations and allowing consumers to take independent decisions.

## **Notre Europe- Jacques Delors Institute**

### *From the European energy Community to the Energy Union - A new policy proposal*

by Sami Andoura [@AndouraSami](#) and Jean-Arnold Vinois; Foreword by Jacques Delors

27 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (162 p.), in [French](#) (176 p.) and in [German](#) (178 p.)

This report examines the evolution of the European energy policy in the last seven years and the adoption of a new 2030 EU Energy and Climate Framework and suggests the three key objectives to be achieved by a comprehensive European energy policy. It expresses ten recommendations for action, together with concrete remedies, policy instruments and institutional frameworks that should be implemented within the new EU institutional cycle.

## EMPLOYMENT/SOCIAL POLICY/HEALTH/CONSUMER AFFAIRS

### Centre for European Policy Studies

#### *Reinsurance of national unemployment benefit schemes*

by Miroslav Beblavý [@beblavy](#), Daniel Gros and Ilaria Maselli [@IlariaInBxl](#)

January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (34 p.)

This study, prepared at the request of the European Commission, Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion DG, makes the case for a reinsurance mechanism and show that such a system delivers, for a small average contribution, large shock-absorption capacities. At the same time, due to a threshold issue, it is not suitable for EU-level absorption of small national shocks. It is rather meant to deliver a large punch once activated, which should occur only in case of major events for the labour market. Had such a scheme been in place in the EU during the period 2000-2012, it would have been triggered 40 times.

### Fundación de Estudios de Economía Aplicada

#### *Políticas activas de empleo: una panorámica*

by Sara de la Rica

15 January 2015

Link to the article in [Spanish](#) (32 p.)

A survey of active labour market policies in the past three decades.

### Institute for Public Policy Research

#### *Self-employment in Europe*

by Izzy Hatfield [@izzyhatfield](#)

4 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (39 p.)

This paper provides an analysis of the characteristics of self-employed workers in different countries (including age, gender, skills and qualifications, occupations and industries), and provides some insight into the uneven pattern of self-employment in Europe.

### Ekonomski institut, Zagreb (Institute of Economics, Zagreb)

#### *Institutional and socio-economic convergence in the European Union*

by Jordi López-Tamayo, Raul Ramos and Jordi Suriñach

December 2014

Link to the article in [English](#) (24 p.)

The objective of this paper is to analyse convergence in institutional, social, and macroeconomic conditions between EU Member States. The analysis covers the period 1995-2013 and considers the potential impact of the Great Recession.

## **Notre Europe- Jacques Delors Institute**

*European social dialogue: 30 years of experience and progress, what future?*

by Jean Lapeyre

28 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (20 p.) and in [French](#) (20 p.)

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the "Val Duchesse" meetings, this policy paper traces the birth, evolution and future prospects of the European Social Dialogue.

## **Center for American Progress**

*Report of the Commission on Inclusive Prosperity*

by Lawrence H. Summers & Ed Balls

January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#)

A report [widely commented in the press](#), arguing for new social and political institutions to make 21st century capitalism "work for the many and not the few".

## **ENVIRONMENT**

### **Institute for European Environmental Policy**

*Estimating support for fossil fuel subsidies in the EU-28*

by Frans Oosterhuis, Helen Ding, Laurent Franckx [@LaurentFranckx](#), Paolo Razzini and Member State experts

5 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (247 p.)

This study identifies and quantifies government support to fossil fuels in the EU-28. Significant support is provided through reduced excise taxes, with EU-wide tax expenditures estimated to be between EUR 28 billion and EUR 200 billion depending on the benchmark used.

### **Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)**

*Nationale Kraftwerksstilllegungen als Klimaschutzmaßnahme?: Ziel, Wechselwirkungen, Verbraucherbelastung [National power plant decommissioning as measures for climate protection? Goal, interaction and expenses for the costumer]*

by Tim Steinart and Julius Ecke

January 2015

Link to the article in [German](#) (4 p.)

The CO<sub>2</sub> emissions of the German coal power stations threaten the national emissions goals for 2020. Hence, further relevant market interventions in the production phase are discussed, for example the shutdown of coal power stations.



## EDUCATION/YOUTH/CULTURE/SPORT

### Ελληνικό Ίδρυμα Ευρωπαϊκής και Εξωτερικής Πολιτικής (Hellenic Foundation for European Foreign Policy)

*Η ατζέντα της πολιτιστικής ενσωμάτωσης κατά το άρθρο 167 παρ. 4 της Συνθήκης για τη Λειτουργία της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης: Οι πολιτιστικές πτυχές στο δίκαιο της ΕΕ και στις πολιτικές της (The agenda of cultural integration in the Article 167(4) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU): Cultural aspects in law and policies of the EU*

by Evangelia Psychogiopoulou

January 2015

Link to the article in [Greek](#) (18 p.)

This study examines the integration of cultural considerations in EU law and policies, also known as cultural mainstreaming. The analysis starts with a discussion of the cultural mainstreaming requirements imposed on the EU institutions.

### Fundación Alternativas

*La acción cultural exterior en Europa: análisis comparado*

by José Andrés Fernandez Leost

20 January 2015

Link to the article in [Spanish](#) (75 p.)

This study describes the cultural diplomacy systems of six European countries: Germany, Spain, France, Italy, the United Kingdom and Sweden. They have been chosen according to its regional representativeness, with the aim of investigating the possibility of building a common European public diplomacy.

## SECTION 5 - EXTERNAL RELATIONS

### SECURITY AND DEFENCE

#### **Ulkopoliittinen instituutti (Finnish Institute of International Affairs)**

*War on two fronts: the EU perspective on the foreign terrorist fighters of ISIL*

by Teemu Sinkkonen

8 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

The ISIL surge has inspired a new generation of jihadist terrorists. The large number of foreign volunteers in Syria may cause a global terrorism blowback when ISIL is defeated in Syria/Iraq. This underlines the need for common goals and policies regarding the foreign terrorist fighter phenomenon. The EU has not been able to take a decisive role regarding the Syrian conflict and foreign terrorist fighters, but it can still play an important role in coordinating the responses of the Member States. The EU could take a role in establishing common guidelines for social media regarding extremist material and agitation for violence. Finding common ground with Turkey on information gathering and sharing would be essential in preventing the travel-for-terrorism cause.

*Pushed together by external forces? The foreign and security policies of Estonia and Finland in the context of the Ukraine crisis*

by Kristi Raik [@KristiRaik](#), Mika Aaltola, Katri Pynnöniemi [@Pynnoniemi](#), Charly Salonijs-Pasternak [@charlyisp](#)

19 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (8 p.)

The Ukraine crisis has been sending shock waves across Europe. Concern about a dramatically deteriorated security environment has dominated recent foreign and security policy debates in Estonia and Finland. This paper analyses both the common ground, embedded in both countries' attachment to the liberal world order and Western structures, and the differences between Estonian and Finnish foreign and security policies that have surfaced in the context of the Ukraine crisis.

#### **Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych (Polish Institute of International Affairs) / Norwegian Institute of International Affairs / Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences**

*Norwegian and Polish security sector reform experiences from Afghanistan*

by Wojciech Lorenz and Marcin Andrzej Piotrowski

7 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (13 p.)

In the coming decade, NATO and EU security is likely to be challenged by the ongoing conflicts and potential instability in different parts of Eastern Europe, the Balkans, the Middle East and North Africa. Both organisations are capable of supporting stability through different forms of cooperation with their partners but they could improve their impact significantly by closer collaboration. One of the most promising platforms for such a unity of effort could be Security Sector Reform (SSR). Although the precise results of the SSR process in Afghanistan remain contested, the lessons hard learnt by both countries should be regarded as a noteworthy asset.

## GEOPOLITICS AND STRATEGY

### German Marshall Fund of the United States

*Global governance, Transatlantic relations, and World order*

by Stewart Patrick

7 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.)

Unlike Europe, the US has generally been sceptical of multilateral institutions and mechanisms. Yet transatlantic powers are increasingly reliant on multilateral options based on a reliance on codes of conduct to achieve their strategic objectives, rather than formal treaty-based governance. The author also addresses the shifting power balance in international organizations and explains how the rise of revisionist powers challenges world order and mechanisms of global governance.

### Barcelona Centre for International Affairs

*Fifteen trends for 2015*

by Eduard Soler i Lecha (coord.)

January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (9 p.), in [Spanish](#) (9 p.) and in [Catalan](#) (9 p.)

CIDOB identified 15 trends that began to take shape months or years ago but which will be particularly intense in 2015.

### European Council on Foreign Relations

*European foreign policy scorecard 2015*

by Julien Barnes-Dacey [@jbdacey](#), Francisco de Borja Lasheras [@LasherasBorja](#), Anthony Dworkin [@AnthonyDworkin](#), Ellie Geranmayeh [@EllieGeranmayeh](#), François Godement, Andrew Hammond [@Hammonda1](#), Daniel Levy, Angela Stanzel [@angela\\_stanzel](#), Andrew Wilson, Kadri Liik [@KadriLiik](#) and Mattia Toaldo [@mattiatoaldo](#)

29 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (127 p.)

The fifth edition of ECFR's "European Foreign Policy Scorecard" examines the EU's response to a year in which crisis came to Europe's borders. It assesses 65 individual aspects of European foreign policy in six key areas: relations with Russia, Wider Europe, Middle East/North Africa, China and Europe's performance in multilateral institutions and in crisis management. The authors also award grades for overall performance and label individual countries "Leaders" or "Slackers" depending on whether they lead or hinder Europe's ability to achieve its interests on particular goals.

### European Union Institute for Security Studies

*A changing global environment*

by Antonio Missiroli, Gerald Stang [@GDStang](#), Jan Joel Andersson, Cristina Barrios, Hugo Brady [@hugobradu](#), Florence Gaub, Eva Gross, Patryk Pawlak, Eva Pejsova, Nicu Popescu and Thierry Tardy [@thierrytardy](#)

December 2014

Link to the article in [English](#) (91 p.)

This paper examines a variety of issues that will most likely shape our world in the near-term. In particular, it looks at 1) the large-scale implications of increased human mobility; 2) possible resource scarcity; 3) the security implications of rapid technological change; 4) the challenges of transnational cooperation, particularly in dealing with 'borderless problems'; 5) Russia's more adventurous role in the world; 6) next-step developments in the Middle East and North Africa; 7) the status of poverty and economic development in Africa; and 8) geopolitical developments in Asia.

## **Fundación para las relaciones internacionales y el diálogo exterior (Foundation for International Relations and Foreign Dialogue)**

### *Challenges for European Foreign Policy in 2015. How others deal with disorder*

by Giovanni Grevi and Daniel Keohane

12 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (83 p.), [Spanish](#) (93 p.)

At the start of each year, FRIDE looks at the challenges for European foreign policy in the following twelve months. This year, their central theme is how others deal with disorder. This paper analyses the strategies of nine different countries for coping with instability – ranging from major powers with the ability or aspiration for global influence (i.e. China, US) to others with a regional focus (i.e. Iran, Turkey) – and the implications of those strategies for Europe. It shows that most of these governments are increasingly vulnerable to geopolitical tensions and trans-national threats. Europeans will need to take a firm stand when their values and interests are at stake, while adopting new approaches to working with other powers to prevent further destabilisation. Protecting European security will often require helping others improve theirs.

### *A broken region: evaluating EU policies in the South Caucasus*

by Jos Boonstra and Laure Delcour

28 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (6 p.)

The South Caucasus is a broken region characterised by local tensions and conflicting influences of large regional actors – the EU, Russia and Turkey. The EU remains highly attractive to South Caucasus societies but its technocratic and government-focused policies have failed with Armenia and Azerbaijan, while reform in Georgia remains fragile. Furthermore, the region remains volatile due to the high potential for domestic instability; inflammable protracted conflicts; and Russia's heavy influence. The EU, therefore, needs to do three things: develop more flexible country-specific policies (alongside renewed multilateral engagement); encourage the reform of local security sectors; and place societies at the core of its approach to the region.

## **Institut für Europäische Politik (Institute for European Politics)**

### *Synopsis of reviews of "The EU and Central Asia: strategy for a new partnership"*

by Andrew Campbell, Jan van der Lingen, Aline Medow and Julian Plottka

22 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (27 p.)

This paper presents reviews of the EU's [Strategy for a New Partnership](#) with Central Asia. After a summary of the strategy objectives, the synopsis summarises main findings of these earlier reviews for six of the seven priorities areas outlined in the CA strategy.

## **Ośrodek Studiów Wschodnich (Centre for Eastern Studies)**

*Eurazjatycka Unia Gospodarcza – więcej polityki, mniej gospodarki [Eurasian Economic Union - more politics, less economics]*

by Aleksandra Jarosiewicz and Eva Fischer

20 January 2015

Link to the article in [Polish](#) (7 p.)

Russia's aggressive foreign policy of the last year has shown that the Eurasian Economic Union is more a political project for the reestablishment of a more assertive sphere of influence in the post-Soviet space, rather than a project of economic integration modelled after the EU.

## **European Centre for Development Policy Management**

*Gaps between comprehensive approaches of the EU and EU Member States: scoping study*

by Volker Hauck and Camilla Rocca

9 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (56 p.)

The aim of this report is to provide a better understanding of the various efforts being undertaken at the Union level, to shape more comprehensiveness in external action addressing conflict and crisis. It covers the role of EU institutions in Brussels, the relationship between the EU institutions and EU Member States, and overlaps and divergences between six EU Member States which were studied in some detail. It underlines the importance of an all-Union approach, but looks at the matter from a distinctly non-Brussels perspective.

Note also that on a related topic, a paper by ECDPM we referenced recently, *The future of ACP-EU relations post-2020*, has now been published in [French](#).

## **College of Europe**

*Civilian power Europe in the Arctic: how far can the European Union go north?*

by Piotr Kobza

January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (31 p.)

The EU Arctic policy, initiated in 2008, was created to respond to the rising expectations that the EU would have a bigger stake in this region which was gaining in importance due to its ecologic vulnerability, economic potential and clashing political interests of the global powers. This paper raises the question whether the EU managed to establish itself as a significant actor in the Arctic through this new policy and argues that while the genuine interest and influence of the EU institutions was there to give a kick-start to this initiative, the pressure of the traditional and still dominant members of the regional Arctic system has been sufficient so far to effectively prevent it from realizing its full potential.

## **Zentrum für Europäische Integrationsforschung (Center for European Integration Studies)**

*Neighbors and other realities: the Atlantic civilization and its enemies*

by Ludger Kühnhardt

January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (26 p.)

2014 was a watershed year for the geopolitical positioning of the EU. For the first time since the end of the Cold War, Europe is no longer exporting stability but has begun to import instability in an unprecedented way. The neighbourhood policy needs a fundamental review as non-European actors pursue policy concepts and strategies that run counter to EU norms and interests. The author argues that the values of the Atlantic civilization have come under pressure in a world which tends to be influenced by new conflicts or a secular nature.

### **Institut de relations internationales et stratégiques**

*États et stratégie : produire, soutenir et diffuser la pensée stratégique aujourd'hui*

by Olivier de France

23 January 2015

Link to the article in [French](#) (20 p.)

This paper studies six major countries: Germany, the UK, the US, Brazil, India, and Russia. The analysis focuses on three aspects of the strategic system of these six countries: the inner side (the ministerial strategic analysis device), the outer side (the Strategic Research Production external environment), and finally the relationship between these two spheres. This third aspect often presents unique characteristics, symptomatic of the international posture and strategic ambitions of a given state.

### **DEVELOPMENT**

#### **European Centre for Development Policy Management**

*Use of PCD indicators by a selection of EU Member States*

by Jeske van Seters [@JeskeVanSeters](#), Greta Galeazzi [@greta\\_gale](#), Damien Helly [@DamienHelly](#), Anna Knoll [@anna\\_katharinak](#), Brecht Lein [@Brecht\\_Lein](#), Anna Rosengren [@AnnaRosengren2](#) and Andrew Sherriff [@AndrewSherriff](#)

22 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (38 p.)

This paper maps systems to monitor Policy Coherence for Development (PCD) efforts in Denmark, Ireland, Sweden, and the Netherlands, particularly their use of PCD indicators. Its aim is to inform endeavours by governments seeking to establish a monitoring mechanism to guide PCD efforts and strengthen accountability, by reinforcing their capacity to monitor, analyse and report on the development impacts of their own policies on partner countries.

*The dawn of the post-MDG era?*

by James Mackie and Rhys Williams

8 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (16 p.)

The possibility of a third revision of the agreement in 2015 has been dropped to concentrate on the period beyond the 2020 expiry date. This reflection process is gaining momentum on both sides. It is already clear that the parties are interested in a thorough review of ACP-EU relations and that negotiating new arrangements for the post-Cotonou era will usher in major changes. This paper argues that the year, 2015 will be a pivotal one for both the EU and the AU to step forward and demonstrate that their partnership strengthens their respective positions as global players in international cooperation.



## European Centre for Development Policy Management / Africa Governance Institute

*First strategic and technical meeting on the operationalization of the Africa-EU roadmap's 2014-2017 governance priority*

7 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (12 p.)

The key messages of this meeting in Pretoria in November 2014 were that it is important to build on the experience of the implementation of the former Africa-EU Partnership on Democracy and Human Rights.

## European Policy Centre

*Re-thinking the EU's development paradigm: views from Morocco and Tunisia*

by Bohdana Dimitrova and Zuzana Novakova [@Zuzana\\_Novakova](#)

12 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.)

Is there a reluctance to take the prevailing development paradigm based on economic growth and question its suitability as a motor for development? Most European Neighbourhood Policy resources and most tangible results remain within a financial framework, with a concentration on market-driven reforms in relation to economic and social change. On this basis, the current atmosphere represents a historical opportunity for rethinking the EU's development paradigm fostered in the region. Drawing on extensive field work in Morocco and Tunisia, this policy brief highlights limitations and contradictions of the EU's socio-economic development policies.

## INTERNATIONAL TRADE

### Corporate Europe Observatory

*TTIP: regulations handcuffed*

by Kenneth Haar [@KennethHaar](#) and Max Bank [@max\\_bank](#)

28 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.)

Corporate Europe Observatory's critique of regulatory co-operation within the TTP, which they argue could be outright dangerous to democracy.

### Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (German Development Institute)

*Die Transatlantische Handels- und Investitionspartnerschaft (TTIP): Was sollte die Entwicklungspolitik tun?*

by Axel Berger [@ax\\_berger](#) and Clara Brandi [@ClaraBrandi](#)

January 2015

Link to the article in [German](#) (4 p.)

The TTIP is currently hotly discussed, however it focuses mainly on the impact of TTIP in Germany and Europe. Insufficient attention is being paid to the implications for the rest of the world, the authors argue.

**European Centre for International Political Economy / Georgetown University Center for Business and Public Policy**

*The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership: an accident report*

by J. Robert Vastine, J Bradford Jensen and Hosuk Lee-Makiyama [@leemakiyama](#)

January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (5 p.)

This report makes recommendations on how to get TTIP back on course again. It will require, three elements. First, the EU and the US need a common understanding of ambitions. Are the parties negotiating a regular FTA, or a new form of an economic partnership going beyond any existing precedent? The second element concerns political leadership and mobilizing support – in the end, this question comes down to: who is willing to pay for TTIP? The last element concerns the overarching objective of TTIP, which must be approached as strategic in its purpose. TTIP could be the third pillar of a new global economic governance together with TPP and EU-Asia agreements. TTIP should be the most comprehensive and sturdiest of these three pillars – not the weakest.

**LUISS School of European Political Economy**

*TTIP- A power boost for big business*

by Gerhard Schick

30 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (7 p.)

According to many European leaders, the TTIP promises a growth of economic prosperity for everybody. However the researches made by the Institut für Wirtschaftsordnung described a different scenario, where the benefits will be modest and the overall effect of the trade agreement will be negative especially for developing economies .

**Notre Europe- Jacques Delors Institute**

*"ISDS" in the TTIP: the devil is in the details*

by Elvire Fabry [@elvirefabry](#) and Giorgio Garbasso

16 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (22 p.) and in [French](#) (24 p.)

This paper analyses the advantages and disadvantages of including the investor-State dispute settlement mechanisms in the TTIP after sketching out an overview of its use around the world and in the transatlantic space.

**Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)**

*Between transparency and secrecy: how does TTIP impact the publication policy of clinical studies in the pharmaceuticals field?*

by Remi Maier-Rigaud

January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.)

Clinical studies provide the foundations for the authorisation of pharmaceuticals. Health systems and ultimately European consumers would profit from publication of reports on clinical trials. The advantages are wide-ranging: it would be easier to double-check studies and assessments of the benefits of pharmaceuticals could be performed on a much broader and more secure data basis, which would be of general public benefit. Following a decision by the European Ombudsman, the European Medicines Agency (EMA) planned to proactively publish the complete data from clinical trials. The EMA once again significantly scaled down its efforts to achieve greater transparency following the commencement of TTIP negotiations in 2013, while the new EU Regulation provides discretionary latitude for declaring data produced in clinical studies to constitute business secrets.

## **Leuven Centre for Global Governance Studies**

*The scope of services chapters and regulatory autonomy constraints from unconditional obligations in selected EU RTAs*

by Bregt Natens

January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (68 p.)

This report first identifies and selects three case studies: EU-Colombia & Peru, EU-Singapore and EU-Georgia RTAs. The report then introduces a (rebuttable) presumption in favour of WTO consistent interpretation of the provisions of the services chapters of these EU RTAs. Subsequently, it addresses the scope of the selected RTAs, finding that it is wider than the already wide scope of GATS. Finally, the report assesses constraints on regulatory autonomy from the unconditional obligations in these chapters.

*Leader or laggard? Political determinants of the EU's compliance with WTO dispute settlement rulings*

by Aydin Yildirim and Dirk De Bièvre

January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (22 p.)

This paper examines whether the EU upholds the rule of WTO law and leads by example in responding to WTO complaints brought by developing countries by investigating the political conditions under which the EU adheres to international trade law in WTO vis-à-vis developing countries.

## **AFRICA**

### **Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)**

*EU-Africa relations after the fourth summit - Finding common ground*

by Manfred Öhm, Florian Koch (eds.) and Julien Daemers (rap.)

23 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (20 p.)

Specific objectives of the conference included: analysing the fourth EU–Africa summit and its probable effects on the partnership in the future; identifying issues of common concern that have the potential to foster political dialogue and produce results by the next summit; supporting the partnership to enable it to adapt to a changing global environment while preserving the spirit of cooperation enshrined in the JAES.

## ASIA

### Carnegie Europe

#### *Keeping EU-Asia reengagement on track*

by Richard Youngs [@YoungsRichard](#)

January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (34 p.)

The relationship between the EU and Asia is in flux. The EU intensified its economic ties to Asia and boosted its security cooperation in the region in 2011 and 2012. But new challenges, including the crises in Ukraine and the Middle East, have made it difficult to sustain this incipient momentum. There are a number of steps that EU and Asian governments can and should take to continue to strengthen their relations.

## CHINA

### German Marshall Fund of the United States

#### *Chinese investment in the EU: a challenge to Europe's economic security*

by Elena Forchielli

16 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.)

China's increasingly assertive role in international affairs and the international economy continues to raise concerns about its intentions and use of instruments such as foreign direct investment. An important step toward building the trust of foreign countries and businesses in China could be a properly constructed bilateral investment treaty between the EU and China. As part of the effort, the EU should consider establishing a special committee or a decentralized agency tasked with evaluating foreign investments.

## KOSOVO

### Istituto Affari Internazionali

#### *Beyond the intergovernmental-supranational divide in EU foreign policy: insights from Kosovo*

by Maria Giulia Amadio Viceré

9 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (22 p.)

Despite not all Member States recognising Kosovo, the enlargement perspective that all agreed to give to the whole region, made it possible to delegate powers to the High Representative for the CSDP for brokering the Brussels Agreement. In this way the five States that did not recognise Kosovo, could still support the regional stabilisation. This case study demonstrates that integration and effectiveness of EU's foreign policy is possible.

## MEDITERRANEAN

### European Institute of the Mediterranean

#### *Research and assessment on Euro-Mediterranean relations*

by Javier Albarracín (coord.)

January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (459 p.)

This compilation document serves the purpose of disseminate all the findings of the Search Project (Sharing knowledgE Assets: inteRregionally Cohesive neighBorhoods (website [here](#)).

#### *Financial reforms in the Mediterranean: ideas and policies to inspire change*

by Javier Albarracín (coord.)

January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (36 p.)

This document is the result of the high level working group of the MED Confederation on financial reform held on the 16th and 17th of June 2014 in Promos – Milan Chamber of Commerce. On that occasion, more than 30 international experts debated how to reform the banking sector in the Mediterranean neighbourhood as a key need to better contribute to the socioeconomic and business development of these economies. They also analysed how to improve the performance and impact of private equity in these countries to consolidate their development and their international cooperation. Finally, mobile banking was the third financial segment studied as a way of improving financial inclusion in these societies.

## MIDDLE-EAST

### Istituto Affari Internazionali

#### *The multilateralisation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: a call for an EU initiative*

by Daniela Huber and Lorenzo Kamber

13 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (16 p.)

The "battleground" of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is moving away from the local context of the Oslo agreement. It is therefore time to think about new multilateral solutions and the EU could play an important role, considering that the positions of Member States were converging over the last years.

### Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale

#### *Gas e geopolitica: Iran, un ritorno in grande stile? (Gas and geopolitics: Iran, a great style return?)*

by Pejman Abdolmohammadi

29 January 2015

Link to the article in [Italian](#) (13 p.)

The present tensions between the West, China and Russia, on the other side could have two effects on Iran: either the status quo will be kept or there could be a rapprochement with the West. This paper examines the costs and benefits of both scenarios for Iran and other actors concerned.

## **Fundación para las relaciones internacionales y el diálogo exterior (Foundation for International Relations and Foreign Dialogue)**

### *Enabling or evading? Germany in the Middle East*

by Kristina Kausch

16 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (7 p.) and in [Spanish](#) (7 p.)

Germany's political influence in the Middle East and North Africa is limited in many respects. However, Berlin's role in shaping positions within the EU, its close alliance with Israel, its good relations with Iran, and its growing partnership with the Gulf states bestow it with some geopolitical influence. As the unravelling of the Middle Eastern status quo advances at great speed, the EU's strongest member should play a more purposeful role.

## **RUSSIA**

### **Centre for European Policy Studies**

#### *EU sanctions policy towards Russia: the sanctioner-sanctionee's game of thrones*

by Tatia Dolidze [@TatiaDolidze](#)

January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (24 p.)

How successful has the EU been so far in pushing its case with the Kremlin and what moves are left for the two main actors in the sanctioner-sanctionee 'Game of Thrones'? This document offers a SWOT analysis of the EU sanctions policy towards Russia and identifies the Strengths for the EU to cultivate, Weaknesses to minimise, Opportunities to seize and Threats to counteract.

### **Forum for research on Eastern Europe and Emerging Economies**

#### *Crisis and trust*

by Maxim Ananyev and Sergei Guriev

January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.)

This research uses the 2008-2009-crisis experience in Russia, when Russian GDP fell an 8% drop in 2009, to identify the relationship between income and trust. This has straightforward policy implications: governments should pursue generous countercyclical policies especially in the areas that are the most vulnerable to macroeconomic shocks.

## **TURKEY**

### **German Marshall Fund of the United States**

#### *Time for realism: the need to refocus Turkish-Western cooperation*

by Emiliano Alessandri

28 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (4 p.)

While failures in areas ranging from democratization to foreign policy have taken place in Turkey, over the same period the EU nearly collapsed and the Middle East plunged into chaos. In this context, Turkey's shortcomings are not greater, nor more worrisome, than those of its neighbours. For Turkey, the absolute priority is to decisively address the Kurdish issue. Because of the crisis of the Middle East state system, this long-standing question again threatens the Turkish state, despite the progress made internally. Though this is mainly a domestic undertaking, the EU and the US could play an important supporting role.

*Turkey's unconsolidated democracy: the nexus between democratisation and majoritarianism in Turkey*

by Meltem Müftüler-Baç and E. Fuat Keyman

January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (6 p.)

Turkey's accession talks are a chance to consolidate the country's democracy. In 2011, when relations between Turkey and the EU worsened, political reforms in Turkey halted. Chapters 23 and 24 cannot be opened, because of Cyprus' veto, but if Turkey started to adopt its law to the *acquis* in these fields, the country could improve its record of freedom of speech and the system of checks and balances. However the political will for this effort could be erected only with a clear accession perspective for Ankara.



## REGARDS CROISÉS

### DECENTRALISATION IN GERMANY SEEN FROM THE UK

#### Institute for Public Policy Research

*A race to the top, middle or bottom? The consequences of decentralisation in Germany*

by Ed Turner and Carolyn Rowe

29 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (11 p.)

This essay examines the impact of Germany's 2006 federalism reforms, which transferred certain competencies from the level of the nation State to the *Länder*. It starts by examining the literature on the possible impacts of a decision to decentralise power, and then sketches the German context and the nature of the reforms. It then examines the changes that have occurred since responsibilities were transferred in three areas of policy: prisons, the regulation of care homes, and pay and conditions for Beamte, an employment category which includes most public servants.

### BUSINESS EXPECTATIONS IN FRANCE AND GERMANY

#### Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (German Council on Foreign Relations) / Fondation Robert Schuman

*Thinking towards the future. French and German businesspeople and their expectations for 2025*

by Claire Demesmay and Barbara Kunz

26 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (16 p.), in [French](#) (17 p.) and in [German](#) (18 p.)

Due to the constant public debate about sovereign debt, structural reforms and competitiveness, the relevant state differences between France and Germany are discussed in detail in this paper and in particular the problems, opportunities, and risks during the next decade for France, Germany, and Europe.

#### Institut français des relations internationales

*Quel policy mix de sortie de crise pour la zone euro ? Vers de nouvelles convergences franco-allemandes*

by Pascal Kauffmann and Henrik Uterwedde

22 January 2015

Link to the article in [French](#) (31 p.)

A developing Franco-German vision explores the components of a policy mix and an economic agenda that could sustain the EMU.

## UK ELECTIONS SEEN FROM GERMANY

### Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Friedrich Ebert Foundation)

*Welche Wahl hat Großbritannien? : Unser Nachbar steht vor bedeutenden Zukunftsfragen - seine politische Entscheidungsfähigkeit ist ungewiss*

by Ulrich Storck

January 2015

Link to the article in [German](#) (8 p.)

The outcome of the UK general election in May is anything but predictable. Polls are suggesting that neither Tories nor Labour are going to win an overall majority. Meanwhile the support of UKIP and the SNP is growing and a coalition is more likely. And beside these upcoming events there is the question of a possible Brexit. In his context, the author takes a look at the possible outcomes of the general election in May and the different choices and paths for the UK.

## SWEDISH SECURITY SEEN FROM ESTONIA

### Rahvusvaheline Kaitseuringute Keskus (International Centre for Defence Studies)

*Swedish security and defence in 2014 as seen from the East*

by Martin Hurt [@martinijhurt](#)

30 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (9 p.)

Sweden is, in terms of GDP and population, the largest of the Nordic and Baltic nations. This paper examines last year's security- and defence-related developments affecting both Sweden and its Nordic-Baltic neighbours, most of which are members of the EU and NATO. Special attention is given to aspects of security that at first glance may seem purely national, but are also important when seen from Tallinn, Riga, and Vilnius.

## GERMANY AND THE EUROPEAN DEFENCE SEEN FROM POLAND

### Ośrodek Studiów Wschodnich (Centre for Eastern Studies)

*A weak link? Germany in the Euro-Atlantic security system*

by Justyna Gotkowska

15 January 2015

Link to the article in [English](#) (30 p.)

The political, military, and economic parameters of German power influence the vision of international order that Berlin favours. Politically, Germany is a regional power with global clout. Economically, it is the world's third largest power. Meanwhile, the country's military power is limited. Berlin is thus essentially interested in maintaining peace and stability, both in Europe and globally, and in developing diplomatic mechanisms to manage regional and global crises and conflicts. The German preference for dialogue and compromise in conflict situations in the regional and global dimensions may increasingly pose a risk to maintaining the cohesion and credibility of NATO – both from the perspective of the US and Germany's allies in Europe.